

# INSCRIBING THE BODY

---

Enid Schildkrout

*Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, New York,  
New York 10024; email: eschild@amnh.org*

**Key Words** tattoo, scarification, art, skin, writing

■ **Abstract** Inscriptions on the body, especially tattoo, scarification, and body paint, have been part of ethnographic literature since before the birth of anthropology as a discipline. Anthropology's origins as the study of the exotic Other can be seen in the early descriptions of the body art of non-Western peoples. Anthropologists have generally focused on how the inscribed body serves as a marker of identity in terms of gender, age, and political status. More recently, scholars interested in this subject have looked also at issues of modernity, authenticity, and representation. The recent focus on the inscribed body responds to postmodern theory, the importance of body art in contemporary Western culture, reflections on the meaning of representations of the exotic, and an interest in the visible surface of the body as the interface between the individual and society. This article reviews recent literature in anthropology and related disciplines pertaining to the cultural construction of the inscribed body.

## OVERVIEW: WRITING ON THE SKIN

As possibly the first, and certainly the most obvious, canvas upon which human differences can be written and read, skin has been a topic of continuous interest in anthropology and related disciplines from the earliest descriptions of exotic people to postmodern theorizing about the body in contemporary society. Skin, as a visible way of defining individual identity and cultural difference, is not only a highly elaborated preoccupation in many cultures; it is also the subject of wide-ranging and evolving scholarly discourse in the humanities and social sciences. Although my focus is mainly on the anthropological literature, it is impossible to ignore work in other fields. Today, archaeologists and historians are rewriting the history of the body using evidence from newly discovered ancient bodies, artworks, and texts. Discussions of contemporary "body work" (Benson 2000, p. 236) merge the perspectives of anthropology, sociology, psychology, cultural studies, philosophy, and gender studies, each discipline mapping onto the body its shifting theoretical preoccupations.

Much recent theorizing on the body is devoted to the idea of inscription. Derrida's focus on writing (1976, 1978), and Foucault's on the body as a text upon which social reality is inscribed (Csordas 1994, p.12; Mascia-Lee & Sharpe

(1992, p.147)), have led to many discussions of corporeal inscription and differing definitions and interpretations of what "inscription" and "body" actually mean. In much poststructuralist writing, the concepts of inscription and body are approached more in a metaphorical sense than in terms of the actual material modification of flesh through cutting, piercing, painting, or tattooing. Feminist scholarship, in particular, in its concern with the culturally constructed body and the embodied subject (Butler 1990; Braidotti 1996; Grosz 1994; Kristeva 1982, 1995; Lyon & Barbalet 1994), often uses the idea of inscription in this general sense. One notable exception is Fleming (2001), who acknowledges Derrida's broad notion of writing but focuses on the "ostentatious materiality" of writing in sixteenth-century England in graffiti, on monuments, buildings, pottery, and on tattooed bodies.

Reacting against the idea of the "disembodied" poststructuralist body, several writers have called for a greater focus on the body as subject and as material object, the body as "being-in-the-world" (Csordas 1994). Turner (1994, 1995) critiques theories of the disembodied poststructuralist body and argues for a renewed concern with subjectivity, the body as flesh, and personal agency. Brush (1998), discussing cosmetic surgery, writes: "If the body is—metaphorically—a site of inscription to various degrees for various theorists, then cosmetic surgery can be seen, at one level, as an example of the literal and explicit enactment of this process of inscription" (p. 24). Ahmed & Stacey (2001) explore "dermographics," the question of how the skin becomes, rather than simply is, meaningful in different cultural contexts. Jeffreys argues that contemporary body arts have to be seen in terms of their effects on real "flesh and blood" people; she argues for a human rights perspective rather than for either "the individualist explanations of self-mutilation offered by psychology" or "the liberal intellectualizing of postmodernists" (2000, p. 425). Taylor compares the relationship of tattooing to other art forms in contemporary Western culture and says that the tattoo renaissance as described by Rubin (1988) is more than a trivial fad precisely because of the powerful materiality of the body. In a world where virtual bodies seem to be everywhere, "body art represents a sustained effort to reverse the dematerialization of art by making the body matter" (Taylor 1995, p. 34).

These critiques of what Turner calls the "antibodies" of postmodernism and poststructuralism all point toward a renewed focus on literal bodily inscription. These practices, including tattooing, branding, and piercing, may be highly symbolic, but they are not metaphorical. They represent a kind of "border skirmishing" (Fleming 2001, p. 84) between selves and others and between social groups. They inevitably involve subjects who experience pain, pass through various kinds of ritual death and rebirth, and redefine the relationship between self and society through the skin.

It is not surprising, given this ambiguous terrain at the boundary between self and society, that skin has been a subject of theoretical interest by scholars in many disciplines. In psychoanalysis, because of its obvious concern with the individual, scholars have recognized the liminal quality of skin. Anzieu (1989), discussed at length in Gell (1993, pp. 28–38), writes about "the skin ego" as the interface

between psyche and body, self and others. Prosser (2001, p. 53) and Fleming (2001, pp. 73–74) note that Freud also considered skin in conjunction with writing in his idea of the “mystic writing pad,” referring to the way in which perceptions and memories are entangled inside and through the body’s surface.

## Corporeal Boundaries and Second Skins

In anthropology the study of the body as a boundary phenomena has a long history. Van Gennep (1909) described bodily transformations, often involving tattooing, scarification, or painting, within rites of passage. Lévi-Strauss (1963) discussed the body as a surface waiting for the imprintation of culture: “[T]he purpose of Maori tattoos is not only to imprint a drawing onto the flesh but also to stamp onto the mind all the traditions and philosophy of the group” (1963, p. 257). Douglas (1966), in exploring concepts of purity and danger, described the body as a boundary that can be used metaphorically to describe other socially significant classificatory systems. Turner (1980) first used the term “social skin” in his detailed discussion of how Kayapó culture was constructed and expressed through individual bodies. Using Bourdieu’s (1977) “socially informed body,” he explored Kayapó theories about “the nature of the human subject, the socialized body, and the relation between the two” (1995, p. 167). Kayapó body modifications, especially as performed in life-cycle rituals and everyday life, are part of the process of social production, creating a relationship between Kayapó subjects and the world in which they live (on Kayapó see also Conklin 1997, Verswijver 1992, Vidal & Verswijver 1992).

Gell (1993), in his monumental work on tattooing in Polynesia, referred to a “double skin folded over itself,” mediating relations between persons, the sacred, and the present and the past. With tattoo, “the body multiplies; additional organs and subsidiary selves are created; spirits, ancestors, rulers and victims take up residence in an integument which begins to take on a life of its own” (p. 39). Tattooing, Gell wrote, is “simultaneously the exteriorization of the interior which is simultaneously the interiorization of the exterior” (pp. 38–39). Not only does the tattooed skin negotiate between the individual and society and between different social groups, but also mediates relations between persons and spirits, the human and the divine. Comparing Western and Melanesian ideas about skin and self, Benson (2000) describes anthropology’s contribution to the study of contemporary Western body work in terms of how it elucidates the relationship between the surface of the body and the idea of the person, within specific cultural contexts.

To describe masks, wigs, body paint, and other impermanent forms of body art, anthropologists and art historians have often used the term second skin. Lévi-Strauss wrote about “mask cultures” (1963, p. 261), where masks replace tattoos as the mark of culture. Whether with tattoos, paint, or masks, the face is “predestined to be decorated, since it is only by means of decoration that the face receives its social dignity and mystical significance. Decoration is conceived for the face, but the face itself exists only through decoration.” O’Hanlon (1992, p. 602) says that

among the Wahgi in Papua New Guinea, a type of shoulder-length wig can be interpreted as a second skin, momentarily acknowledging the constitutive power of maternal kin at a festival otherwise given over to the celebration of agnatic values. He compares his use of the term second skin to the way in which scholars working in Australia have explained Aboriginal landscapes and paintings. Like skin, landscapes, revealed through "the Dreaming," are constituted by the act of inscription, what Biddle calls "ancestral imprintation" (Biddle 2003, p. 65; see also Gould 1990; Munn 1986; Myers 2002, pp. 36, 88–92). Similarly, Boas' descriptions of Northwest Coast masks, body paint, and tattoos (Jonaitis 1995; also discussed in Lévi-Strauss 1963, pp. 245–68) show an isomorphism among these forms, all of which involve effacing the boundaries between past and present, animal ancestors and human beings.

Following this line of analysis, there is no question that the topic of inscribing the body could lead us into a consideration of masked performances, ceremonial clothing, and many other kinds of transformations related to the body. Although I touch on these matters briefly, for the most part I restrict my discussion to the more literal practices of inscribing actual human flesh. Partly because of its universality in human culture, and its significance in defining cultural difference, this topic has a long history in anthropologic and ethnographic literature. Inscribed skin highlights an issue that has been central to anthropology since its inception: the question of boundaries between the individual and society, between societies, and between representations and experiences. In this review, I do not discuss the related and vitally important topic of the social construction of unmarked skin, particularly the idea of race. And because my focus is on the cultural readings of inscribed skin, I am not concerned with the fairly copious literature in psychology and medicine that treats bodily inscriptions as a manifestation of individual psychopathology.

Thus there remain three bodies of research relevant to this review. They all cross boundaries between disciplines in the social sciences and humanities. First, recent work has been done by historians, anthropologists, and literary scholars using historical sources, including early accounts of tattoo, newly discovered historic images, travel writing, and archaeological data. Second, recent ethnographic works exist on inscribed bodies outside Europe and North America, what one might label "new ethnography." Third, a body of literature addresses contemporary Western body modification. In the past three decades, Western body art has not only become a practice, and in some quarters a fashion, that has crossed social boundaries of class and gender, "high" culture and "low," but also it has been greatly influenced by "tribal" practices, past and present. The scholarly literature on contemporary body art focuses on issues of modernity, identity, hybridity, deviance, popular culture, gender, appropriation, authenticity, and globalization.

Whereas tattooing, branding, and piercing are technically distinct, and are used to express different kinds of identities in different social contexts, for the purposes of this review these topics are considered together. Among contemporary Western body art practitioners, important distinctions are made sometimes between people who focus on different practices, although all these techniques can be combined in

the assertion of particular identities. Tattooing and scarification, or cicatrization, as it is generally called in the European literature, are similar in that both involve the insertion of pigments under the skin to create permanent marks, either with pigment or texture, on the surface. Some authors, for example Gengenbach (2003) and Drewal (1988), use the term tattooing as a generic term for both, a practice I generally follow here. Branding is often associated with involuntary marking and the denial of personhood but has also been adopted in contemporary Western body culture as an assertion of group identity, for example in college fraternities. Piercing is not "inscription" in the literal sense of writing on the body, but in the contemporary Western context it too is often combined with tattooing as an assertion of neo-tribal identity. Historically, evidence of piercing is more abundant than that for tattooing because ornaments usually outlast bodies. In its engagement with objects used as ornaments, piercing is often used as the basis for displaying signs of status, but the act of piercing itself, like tattooing, branding, and scarification, is embedded in rituals of personal transformation.

## THE AMBIVALENCE OF INSCRIBED SKIN

Before the Civil War, ads in North America for runaway slaves distinguished three kinds of body marking. A "Negro" runaway, if born and previously marked in Africa, would be said to have "country marks," in addition to scars from diseases, accidents, or beatings, and brands showing the name of the owner (Windley 1983). These advertisements broadly define the universe of body marking and the essential ambivalence so often found in association with corporeal inscriptions. On the one hand, these advertisements point us toward the understanding of the body as a site of where human beings become canvas for the inscription of political power; on the other hand, they raise the question of the agency of the individual in constructing a relationship between body and society.

The essential ambivalence of skin as a boundary is due, in part, to the possibility of individual agency subverting externally imposed inscriptions. Tattoos, scarifications, and brands can be imposed by authoritarian regimes in a symbolic denial of personhood. The brands and tattoos made by slave owners in ancient Greece and Rome (Gustafson 2000, Jones 2000) and in the southern United States (Windley 1983), Nazi concentration camp markings, and tattoos made as punishment in south Asia, Europe, Russia (Schrader 2000), and colonial East India (Anderson 2000), and in convict transports to Australia (Maxwell-Stewart & Duffield 2000) are inscriptions that are part of systems of control and surveillance. These are examples in which the Foucauldian model is enacted in a literal sense, although the evidence tells us little about how individuals may have reinterpreted these forms of subjugation and transformed them into signs of rebellion, as in Russia (Schrader 2000) or among Chicanos (Govenar 1988, Phillips 2001).

It has long been thought that in China tattooing was primarily used as a form of punishment. But Reed (2000) has analyzed early Chinese sources from the Zhou to

the Ming dynasties, focusing especially on the work of a ninth-century writer Duan Chngshi, (c. 800–863), who described many different uses of tattooing in addition to the well-known stigmatizing use of tattoo on criminals and slaves. These literary sources reveal that early Chinese tattoos were extensive, often full-body tattoos, with elaborate pictorial imagery as well as written inscriptions. One policeman's entire body was covered with the poems of Bai Juyi (772–846).

In Brazil, on the Indian subcontinent, in Russia, and elsewhere, convicts marked by the penal authorities are known to reclaim their bodies by writing over the inscriptions or by displaying them in new social situations as a sign of resistance (Anderson 2000, p. 115; Govenar 1988; Schrader 2000). Penal and gang tattoos often represent a coalescence of socially imposed and voluntarily assumed marks, gaining some of their power from the fusion of subjection and resistance. Similarly, sex workers are said to reclaim their bodies through tattooing, using their tattoos to confront the fantasies that others project onto them [W. DeMichele (tattoo photographer), personal communication].

## EARLY COMPARATIVE STUDIES

One of the earliest known comparative studies of body art around the world, John Bulwer's *Anthropometamorphosis* (1653), defined the descriptive terrain of this subject for the next three centuries. Body art, following Bulwer, at least in the popular imagination, became a way of describing the exotic uncivilized Other in comparison to the ideal civilized and Christian European. Bulwer, a Protestant doctor, based his diatribe against frivolity, especially on the part of women, on visual and written descriptions of body art that emerged from the first explorations of the new world. Writing a half century after Theodore de Bry published engravings of Indians from Virginia and Florida in 1590 (based on the drawings of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues and John White), Bulwer compared the body art of exotic foreigners to the ideal of "natural" bodies made in God's image. Whereas the Egyptians, Indians, Brazilians, and Ethiopians might "slash and carbonade their bodies," Europeans also indulged their taste for fashion in "the slashing, pinking, and cutting of our Doublets." Bulwer riled against English women who applied pastes and patches to their faces, thereby falsifying what was made in God's image (Bulwer 1653, p. 537, cited in Rosencrans 2000, pp. 49–50; for more discussion of de Bry, White, and Le Moyne, see Fleming 2000, 2001, pp. 79–112; Hulton 1984).

If the idea that the unmarked body as a sign of God's work was linked to the Protestant reformation, the idea that body markings were a sign of savagery goes back even earlier. When de Bry published White's drawings of the inhabitants of Florida and Virginia, he also published White's depictions of the Picts, the ancient inhabitants of the British Isles. Known from Herodotus and other texts to have marked their bodies, these ancient Europeans could be compared to the tattooed natives of the Americas. White's depictions distanced the European body from its own past as well as from contemporary practices in early modern Europe. This is especially obvious in the image of the Pictish warrior holding a severed head, and

the Botticelli-like Daughter of the Picts, a naked beauty covered in New World flowers and holding a sword.

## THE INSCRIBED BODY IN HISTORY

Several important papers have demonstrated the volatility of body markings in Western Europe: their capacity to mean one thing in one period, and then shift as they move through space and time. The Greeks, Romans, and Celts used tattooing "for penal and property purposes" (Caplan 2000b, p.xvi; Gustafson 2000, Jones 2000). These meanings were inverted in early Christendom (Jones 2000) when pilgrims to the Holy Land and others adopted tattooing as signs of religious observance. On the basis of these rich historical studies, Caplan concludes that the history of European tattooing considerably antedates the age of exploration, whether reckoned from the Atlantic voyages of the sixteenth century or the Pacific expeditions of Captain Cook two centuries later (Caplan 2000b). The literature from the Greeks through medieval times shows that tattooing and body painting were variously used to mark outlaw status and nobility, insiders and outsiders, soldiers and slaves. Detailed studies, for example MacQuarrie's (2000, p. 41) on medieval Irish literature, show that not only is there evidence for tattooing as a cultural practice, but also that God's word and work were passed on through generations through tattoos inscribed on the bodies of Saints, like the stigmata on St. Francis of Assisi. These medieval texts continue a Biblical dichotomy between tattoos as "indicative of paganism, illiteracy, and criminality" and tattoos as connected to "literacy, Christianity and civilized culture" (MacQuarrie 2000, p. 42).

Despite the admonitions of churchmen and medical practitioners, tattooing was strongly associated with magical practices and widely used as medicine. Rosencrans (2000, p. 48) describes the self-inflicted tattoos of Simon Forman, a medical astrologer. By tattooing cosmological symbols on his own body, at precise astrologically calculated moments in the year 1609, Forman altered "both his flesh and his destiny." This "new magic," akin to alchemy, of the early modern period had its roots in the Renaissance: "In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while Catholicism and Protestantism (in all of its various guises) clamoured for control of the Church of England, medieval popular magic quietly evolved into the 'new magic' of the renaissance" (Rosencrans 2000, p. 52). Marking the flesh with celestial inscriptions, used to cure and conjure, was an ongoing practice in the British Isles. These practices were not sanctioned by the church but occurred simultaneously with the importation of Jerusalem tattoos by pilgrims to the Holy Land.

Recent archaeological discoveries in Europe and central Asia support the idea that tattooing, far from being a nineteenth-century import into Europe, has a long, if not continuous, history on the continent. Actual bodies are obviously the best evidence of tattooing, and when the marks are legible, as in the case of the 5000-year-old Iceman from the Alps (Spindler 1994), a priestess of the goddess Hathor from Dynasty XI (2160–1994 B.C.) at Thebes (Bianchi 1988), Pazyryk horsemen and women from the sixth to the second century B.C. on the border between

China and Russia (Krutak 2004a, Polosmak 1994, Rudenko 1970), we can begin to decipher their meanings. In the case of the Pazyryk mummies, images of horses appear in textiles, in gold work, and on the skin. Skeletons of horses have been found in burials, suggesting the importance of the horse in the spiritual as well as the secular lives of these people. We can also infer medical uses of tattooing from tattooed and ochre-painted mummies on whose bodies correlations can be made between the placement of inscriptions and arthritic joints. Mallory & Mair (2000) describe such tattoos on the 3000–4000-year-old mummies found in western China.

Archaeologists and art historians have also found evidence of tattooing, piercing, and body shaping on artifacts. Recently discovered sculptures from the Jama-Coaque culture (Ecuador) from 500 B.C. to –500 A.D. reveal elaborate piercing on the face and torso of both men and women, whereas Maya figurines show elaborate body art associated with royalty (Baudez 2000). Thracian tattooing is revealed on painted vases dating from the fourth century A.D. (Zimmerman 1980). Krutak (2004b) and Griton (1988) use the illustrations in nineteenth-century explorers' accounts of their encounters with the peoples of Alaska, as does Kaeppler for Hawaii (1988, 2004), to reconstruct nineteenth-century piercing and tattooing practices. Selections from these historical accounts can be found in Gilbert (2001), a useful compendium of early writing on body art.

Even though the popular understanding of tattooing in Europe and North America dates the practice only to the late eighteenth-century Pacific voyages of Captain Cook (Guest 2000, Dye 1989, Thomas 2002), Caplan's study of tattooing in nineteenth-century Europe shows that in the early modern period, tattoos were widely used as occupational emblems, religious insignia, personal mementos, and insignia of patriotism and loyalty. Different local iconographies of tattooing can be identified, making it possible to distinguish tattoo traditions in Romania from those in Italy, Austria, or France. Caplan (2000, pp. 156–73) analyzes the European literature on tattoos and describes how criminologists, working from prison records, dominated the scientific discourse on tattooing in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although many people who were not criminals got tattoos, the criminological literature contributed to the popular understanding of tattooing as a form of negative deviant behavior (see also Gell 1993).

At the same time, sailors and merchants returning from the Pacific, as well as circus and carnival performers, increasingly got tattoos. Some fully tattooed people became celebrities, as did the tattooists who did the work. Despite the odd nobleman with a tattoo, this heterogeneous but generally lower-class population dominated the world of Western tattooing until the mid-twentieth century. Although tattooing steadily increased in popularity after the invention of the electric tattoo machine in the 1890s, it was not until the 1960s that the place of tattooing in popular culture radically shifted. As various kinds of social movements, from women's liberation, to punk, to neo-tribal, to Goth, used body art as a way of affirming identity, tattooing, piercing, and other forms of body modification crossed class boundaries, became common among people who would never before have considered it, and moved into the media as part of celebrity culture and fashion. By the turn



of the millennium, tattoo became a fashion statement and had, in some quarters at least, become disassociated from the bikers, seamen, and carnival performers who once claimed it as their own. At the same time, the invocation of tribal culture by "modern primitives" and neo-tribals, gave new meaning to images of the primitive (deMello 1995a, 1995b, 2000; Hardy 1995b; McCabe 1997; Mifflin 1997).

## REPRESENTATIONS OF THE EXOTIC OTHER

As images of people from Europe's colonies made their way into popular culture, representations of tattooing among the European underclass became conflated with the exotic bodies of Africans, Asians, and Native Americans. Much of this imagery was exhibited in world's fairs and sideshows (deMello 2000, pp. 44–70; Gilbert 2001, pp. 102–48; McCabe 1995; Oettermann 2000), settings where Western civilization asserted its hegemony by creating images of the non-Western Other (Cummings 2003). Tattooing and scarification, conflated with race, had been themes in descriptions of exotic peoples since the "age of exploration." Body art thus worked its way into Western thought as a major trope in identifying both non-Western peoples and the subaltern exotic within the West (Lutz & Collins 1993).

Coffee-table books displaying illustrated bodies from around the world (Fisher & Beckwith 1990, Gröning 1998, Rainier 1996) often emphasize the exotic and offer minimal analysis, yet they still serve as references for revival movements and contemporary practices. Performance artists and leaders of the "modern primitive" movement, such as the much-pierced and flayed Fakhir Musafar, who has been credited with inventing modern primitivism, draw on this archive to validate and explain their remade bodies (Vale & Juno 1989). This mass-market literature can be contrasted to more analytic work (Brain 1979, Ebin 1979, Burton 2001, Feher et al. 1989) that has attempted, in different ways, to compare the meaning of body art in different cultures.

Like museum collections of "salvaged objects," the published global body art archive, including both popular and academic literature, has become entangled in reclamation movements of various kinds. Pritchard (2000, 2001) discusses how Maori facial tattoo designs (*moko*) may be regarded as inalienable cultural property. Indeed, the Maori tattoo revival in New Zealand continues to be inspired by older works like Robley (1896) as well as newer publications like Simmons (1989) and Blackburn (1999). In the Marquesas (Allen & Gilbert 2001, pp. 55–66; Gell 1993, pp. 163–217), designs replicating the earliest known tattoos in the region are prominent in the contemporary tattoo revival and have become symbols of Marquesan identity. These designs would not be known were it not for the accounts of Von Langsdorff (1813–14), Handy (1922), and Von den Steinen (1928).

Body art, especially tattoos, but also body shaping, piercing, and scarification, have become major themes in discourses of modernity. They are, according to Cummings (2003), the visual component of Said's "Orientalism." Cummings notes the reliance on nonvisual text in both Said and Foucault and suggests that

Orientalism relied extensively on illustrations and descriptions of the body. Visual presentations of the exotic non-Western body are also important in the history of museums (Coombes 1994) and world's fairs (Rydell 1984, 1993), and in travel literature. Postcards showing lavishly tattooed and scarified bodies were sent around the world in the colonial period (Edwards 1992, Geary & Webb 1998). The 1999–2000 exhibition at The American Museum of Natural History, “Body Art: Marks of Identity” (<http://www.amnh.org/exhibitions/bodyart/>), for which I served as Curator, highlighted the issue of representations by displaying a wall of postcards to highlight the observer's gaze as part of the production of the exotic non-Western body (Schildkrout 2004).

## ETHNOGRAPHIES OF INSCRIPTION

In anthropology, tattooing and other forms of “dermographics” have been of more than passing interest since the inception of the discipline. Boas described the masks, tattooing, and body painting of the Northwest Coast Indians (Jonaitis 1995). His analysis concerned the intersection of religion, masks, and tattoos, and also focused on a formal analysis of graphic design. Northwest Coast split representations also interested Lévi-Strauss (1963), who related them to competitive struggles to assert genealogical status. Gell again addressed the topic of “split representations” in his analysis of Marquesan art, showing that what appeared to Westerners to be three-dimensional sculpture can be understood in terms of two-dimensional skin (Gell 1998, pp. 193–96).

In the 1970s, many anthropologists began to analyze body art in detail, seeing it, as did Lévi-Strauss, as a microcosm of society. Turner's work on the Kayapó (1980), Faris' on the Nuba (1972, 1988), and A. Strathern & M. Strathern's on Mt. Hagen (1971, 1979) are all important ethnographies that interrogate the social significance of body decoration and the way in which body art creates identity for the individual and determines boundaries between groups. These authors described how, in different cultural contexts, temporary and permanent forms of body art are related to gender, the ancestors, spirits, warfare, and stratification, as well as to aesthetic ideas. All these anthropologists described societies where body art practices, at that moment in time, could be studied, for the most part, in isolation from national and global politics. In each of these areas, the next generation of anthropological fieldwork saw these same societies embedded in struggles for identity within national and global political and economic arenas. These same scholars and others, such as Knauff (2002), subsequently reexamined body art in Africa, South America, and the Pacific and situated these practices in wider sociopolitical arenas where tourism, mass media, and global politics had become part of the ethnographic landscape.

The decade following Turner's seminal work saw a number of art historians who were working in Africa and the Pacific turn their attention to body art. Cole, for example, called attention to what he termed the “vital arts” in East Africa

(1974). In the 1980s, Rubin convened a conference that led to the posthumous collection, *Marks of Civilization* (1988). Acknowledging that the "tattoo renaissance" in the United States, particularly on the West Coast, relied heavily on an engagement with non-Western cultures (Rubin 1988b, pp. 233–65), Rubin wanted to compare Western and non-Western practices. Expanding on Lévi-Strauss's idea that the marked body was a cultured body, the premise of *Marks of Civilization* was that tattooing and scarification around the world were universally associated with the idea of "civilization." Vogel (1988, pp. 97–106), writing about the Baule of Côte d'Ivoire, explicitly described Baule scarification as a sign of civilization, an idea that was subsequently contested by Gell (1993, pp. 17–18). The underlying premise of Rubin's edited work was that even where the underclass engaged in tattooing, as in Japan (McCallum 1988) or among Chicano gangs (Govenar 1988), the idea that tattooing and scarification could be considered "art" sublimated distinctions of class and caste under the rubric of "civilization." Roberts (1988, pp. 41–56) wrote that Tabwa "tegumentary inscriptions" reflected conceptions of the cosmos; Bohannan (1988, pp. 77–82) claimed that Tiv markings conferred membership in exclusive social groups; Berns, writing on the Ga'anda in Nigeria (1988, pp. 57–76), Griton on Alaska (1988, pp. 181–90), and Jonaitis (1988, pp. 191–206) on Tlingit labrets all described how gender was expressed and constructed through rituals of bodily inscription. Kaeppler (1988, pp. 157–70) and Gathercole (1988, pp. 171–78) discussed Hawaiian and Maori tattoo as expressions of genealogy, gender, and aesthetics, whereas Teilhet-Fiske (1988, pp. 135–40) and Rubin (pp. 141–54) dealt with the spiritual significance of tattoos in India. In *Marks of Civilization* these accounts of non-Western societies were juxtaposed with Sanders ethnography of Western tattoo studios (1988, pp. 219–32) and Rubin's study of the California tattoo community (pp. 233–65).

Gell's *Wrapping in Images: Tattooing in Polynesia* (1993) is the most ambitious study of tattoo in the anthropological literature. Gell attempts to interrogate the meaning of tattoo by doing a controlled comparison of societies with and without tattooing in Polynesia. Starting from Goldman's comparative study of stratification in Polynesia (1970), Gell sets out to do an "epidemiological" study of tattoo, relating it to stratification, mythology, ideas about the sacred, and virtually anything else where data is available. By exploring the relationship between tattooing, social and political hierarchy, and ideas of the sacred, Gell shows that there is no simple equivalency of status and tattooing. Tattooing creates and signifies difference (high or low) but is also a way of protecting the self and controlling the sacred. Gell concluded that tattooing was a "stigma of humanity" (p. 314): "[T]o be tattooed was always, in the final analysis, to interpose a barrier between a secular self and unmediated divinity" (p. 314). The gods were never tattooed in Polynesia, but people were, in an affirmation of personhood that played itself out differently in different societies. Whereas high-status persons might have tattoos, in the Marquesas their skins had to be removed at death in order for them to safely enter the realm of the gods. In contrast to Rubin, Gell concluded that the resonance between modern Western tattooing and traditional Polynesian tattooing was superficial. Whereas

tattooing in Polynesia was "understood in the light of deeply entrenched cultural premises," Western tattooing is characteristically "unanchored." Gell's discussion of the cultural premises of tattooing in Polynesia is so extraordinarily rich, and his use of early sources and recent scholarship so comprehensive, that no serious consideration of tattooing can proceed without considering his work.

Gell was deeply interested in the anthropology of art, and, like some of the authors in *Marks of Civilization*, he looked at other media in relation to tattooing. In the Marquesas, art that was not on the body was still art of the body (1998, p. 168). Marquesan designs carved in wood do not represent real objects; like tattooing, they are ritual acts that offer protection. "The tattooing of, for example, an *etua* [godling] motif on the body was not a matter of representing an *etua* which existed (as a three-dimensional solid object) somewhere else. . . . The graphic act was a ritual performance that brought into being a protective spirit through the utterance of a 'legitimate' (stylistically coherent) graphic gesture" (1998, p. 191).

In the decade since *Wrapping in Images* appeared, many authors have revisited the subject of tattooing and body painting in non-Western societies. Drawing on Gell's wide use of sources and his theoretical overview, as well as on postmodern theorizing about the body, these authors interrogate the meaning of the body and the rituals and social contexts associated with marking the skin. Writing about the Warlpiri in Australia, Biddle shows how skin provides the medium through which women transform into the object world: Through marks on the skin women "'become' landscape, country, other species. . . . This fundamentally challenges and disrupts notions of 'the human body' and, in turn, it refigures the role of 'skin' inscription from the superficial to the constitutive in the production of cultural identities and differences" (Biddle 2001, p. 178). Warlpiri inscriptions (including modern acrylic paintings) are called *kuruwarri*—a "complex term meaning mark, trace, ancestral presence and/or essence, [and] birthmark or freckle" (p. 178). *Kuruwarri* are traces left over by ancestors and are read as a particular kind of text that constitutes a person in relation to the past, the ancestors, and the environment. Drawing on Derrida (1976, 1990) and Boone & Mignolo (1994), Biddle sees such writing "not as representation, not as that which refers, defers, to speech, sound or word, but rather as a force itself with effects" (p. 183).

Two recent studies in southern Africa consider how politics is inscribed on the body and how tattooing can be used as a means of empowerment (Gengenbach 2003) or as a means of social control (Auslander 1993). Drawing on Stoler's (1995) work on the colonial body, Gengenbach explores women's tattooing in Mozambique and shows how women in the twentieth century have used tattooing as a form of subversive resistance to colonial power. Tattooing, formerly associated with initiation and linked to kinship and marriage, was prohibited under Portuguese rule, but women in Mozambique continue to practice it. No longer closely linked to initiation and ethnicity, tattooing became a way in which women created networks and associations among themselves (Gengenbach 2003, pp. 109, 134), rewriting the "boundaries of difference" in society. Although tattoos were still considered by both men and women to be erotic, as others working in central Africa note

(Cameron 1995, Roberts & Roberts 1996), this was no longer their primary meaning. Women's tattoos expressed an engagement with the colonial economy by incorporating such images of modern objects as scissors and flower pots. These objects of modernity were felt to be possessed through their representations on the skin (2003, p. 115). Kaeppler (1988, 2004) describes a similar incorporation of exogenous objects in Hawaiian tattooing, but in that case tattoo was not a form of resistance but rather a continuation of an earlier tradition that was transformed as tattooed members of the upper class made claims to modernity.

Tattooing is also an element in contemporary witch-finding movements in Zambia. Auslander (1993) describes a witch finder who operated among the Ngoni people in Eastern Province, Zambia. Visiting villages in which witchcraft accusations had become common, this man used the apparatus of the coercive state and symbolism from modern medical practice to inoculate people against witchcraft by tattooing their bodies. He worked his way through rural communities persuading people to submit to bodily inspections with a mirror that was used to determine their vulnerability, according to a numerical scale. People were then inoculated by getting numbers tattooed on their arms. Auslander describes the fusion of symbols from Western medicine and bureaucratic data collection with practices of bodily inscription.

The search for protection also underlies the long tradition of tattooing in mainland southeast Asia, where both doctors and monks administer tattoos (McCabe 2003). Tannenbaum (1987) shows how the Theravada Buddhist Shan in Myanmar, southern China, and Thailand use tattoos that incorporate Khmer, Khom, or Burmese script. These tattoos are used for decoration and marking a man's maturity, for identification and controlling populations, and for protection. Shan tattoos also can be thought of as analogous to vaccinations in that they protect their bearers by causing supernatural beings and other people to "have loving kindness towards them" (p. 695). Verses from Buddhist teachings, *katha*, are written on the body; the operation itself involves recitations and the acceptance of various precepts such as refraining from killing, stealing, improper sexual behavior, lying, and intoxication. Tannenbaum analyzes various classes of tattoo in terms of the rituals involved in administering them, their purposes, and their intersection with gender, power, and religion. Through her study of tattooing, she shows how animist beliefs and state-sponsored Buddhism are integrated into a single moral universe.

## THE BODY IN ART

Art historians and anthropologists working in Africa frequently refer to body markings in their descriptions of sculpture, textiles, wall painting, pottery, and woodcarving. Even though government prohibitions and missionary interventions all over Africa generally caused scarification and tattooing to cease, diminish, or become a form of subversion (Gengenbach 2003), evidence of past practices is preserved in art works that represent bodies or share the aesthetic of body art.

Women did the same body work on the things they made, such as textiles, pottery, and house painting, as on their bodies, whereas men carved scarification patterns on sculptures and inscribed them on metal. These markings are not simply for decoration but give the objects culturally appropriate meanings. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, among the Mbuti as well as the Mangbetu and related groups, body painting and scarification motifs are also inscribed on bark cloth (Schildkrout & Keim 1990, Thompson 1991). Yoruba women use body art designs on resist-dyed indigo textiles (Drewal 1997), whereas Kuba women embroider raffia cloth (M. Adams 1978) with intricate geometric designs that also can be seen on sculptures and on actual bodies that were photographed during the colonial period. Ga'anda women in Nigeria make ritual beer pots that represent bodies and which are used by a groom to make substantial payments in beer to the bride's family. A new bride's house is built with architectural embellishments consisting of raised geometric designs covered in red ochre. These designs refer directly to the bodies of young female initiates. Here too body art was protective. Funeral ceremonies include ritual pottery incised with scarification marks. At the end of the ceremony the pots are smashed to allow the ancestral spirit to safely move on to the afterlife (Berns 1988, pp. 68–73).

In many African societies tattooing was formerly associated with marks of local identity as well as marks of elite status and membership in secret societies. Until the 1930s no male citizen in the Edo kingdom of Benin could exercise his prerogative of membership in palace societies without tattoos (Nevadomsky & Aisien 1995). "As part of the cultural geography of the body, *iwu* [tattoos] mapped out ethnic terrain and transformed the self, inscribed male and female personhood, denoted stratification by pedigree, and delineated selected occupational roles" (p. 68). In the mid-twentieth century, tattooing ceased in this area and clothing and textile designs became important markers of social status and Edo identity, but tattoo designs (*ewe iwu*, tattoo designs on cloth) were placed on fabrics in a deliberate assertion of ethnicity. Although tattoos were "part of a cultural configuration that includes gender roles, status, hierarchy, medicine, and concepts of pollution and blood, the *ewu iwu* is more manipulatively a public recognition of political affiliation and loyalty" (p. 73).

Similarly in eastern Nigeria, Igbo scarification denoted age, gender, and political authority. As permanent body marking decreased, women continued painting designs, known as *uli* on the walls of their houses, on pottery, and on their bodies as temporary decoration during coming of age ceremonies (S. Adams 2002; Cole & Aniorkor 1984, pp. 39–46; Willis 1989).

In Australia, contemporary Aborigine acrylic painting on canvas cannot be understood without reference to body art. The medium changes but the messages on canvas, skin, and country (especially cave walls) are conflated (Biddle 2003, Gould 1990). So, too, in eastern Nigeria, contemporary artists, including male artists like Obiora Udechukwu, use the motifs of women's *uli* painting in their work (Ottenberg 2002). In a rare instance of a non-Western body artist becoming a Western celebrity, Setona (A.K.A. Fatma Ali Adam Uthman), a Sudanese woman living in Egypt, is an internationally acclaimed henna artist whose work adorns

popular musicians, singers, and actors. Hassan (1998) discusses Setona, as well as the Iranian-born New York-based artist Shirin Neshat and the Moroccan modernist Farid Belkahia, in relation to issues of cultural appropriation. Henna has become a commodity in contemporary Western body art, but these artists use it to raise issues about gender, globalization, perceptions of the body, and "the culture of sex and desire" (Hassan 1998, p. 127). In New Zealand, where Maori tattooing has become associated with assertions of ethnicity and indigenous rights, a "theater of remembering" incorporated acts of real tattooing in a 1996 theatrical performance called *Tatau—Rites of Passage*. In this work, the New Zealand-based group Pacific Underground and the Australian-based Zeal Theater collaborated in a production that included actors, a tattoo artist, and a person being tattooed. The play was about a family of Samoan immigrants in New Zealand and the juxtaposition of gang tattoos and "authentic" tattooing as part of a coming-of-age ritual. Tattooing went on in public view during the performances to "explore the notion of ritual reincorporation. . . as a means of transcending diaspora and repairing the ruptures caused by it" (Balme & Carstensen 2001, p. 36). Tattooing here was not seen as specifically Maori or Samoan but rather as part of the creation of new pan-Pacific diasporic identities.

### New Identities, Modernity, and Authenticity

Following the Stratherms' work on body decoration in Mt. Hagen (Strathern & Strathern 1971, A. Strathern 1977, M. Strathern 1979), others working in Oceania have continued to explore the changing ways in which body decoration expresses and constructs personal and cultural identity. Knauft (1989; 1999, pp. 21–89) has surveyed the importance of body paint, ornaments, masks, and wigs throughout colonial Melanesia in relation to "cycles of fertility, depletion, and regeneration" including the changes people confront in the physical environment, the individual body, and "the social and spiritual cycles through which interpersonal relationships grow, mature, and deteriorate" (1999, p. 84). O'Hanlon (1989, 1992) describes how Wahgi adornments articulate the inner realm of moral values with the outer world of politics and warfare, prestige, and protection. Wahgi people continually assess the moral qualities of others in terms of their appearance and take great pains expressing their own moral qualities through body ornamentation. Strathern & Strathern (1971, pp. 101–2) described how Highlanders associate black face paint with warfare, whereas Harrison (1993), working among the Avatip, describes how black paint carries with it the empowering spirit of the ancestors and effaces the person underneath, allowing the warrior to invoke a distinct moral code appropriate only to war.

Several scholars have looked at how body art is being used and transformed in the face of tourism, travel, and new technologies of communication (Timmer 2001). Movements of cultural identity within pluralistic states, the commoditization of body art, and the symbolic use of body art as political symbols by environmental and indigenous rights advocates are salient issues. Knauft, in discussing modernity in Papua New Guinea, describes how self-decoration is becoming less a means of

symbolizing one's social relationship in the community and "more a fashion of de-contextualized bodily art among people who may not otherwise know each other" (2002, p. 226). Barker & Tietjen (1990) describe Maisin women's facial tattooing in northeastern Papua New Guinea in the 1980s. Once associated with puberty ceremonies and gender distinctions, facial tattooing is now practiced as an individualized assertion of ethnicity, maturity and femininity, cultural pride, and artistic ability. Body tattooing ceased during the second World War, but facial tattooing has taken on the expanded meaning of signaling ethnic identity. Maisin women produce and sell *tapa* (bark-cloth) in urban centers where their tattoos identify them as Maisin. Through the association of their body art with a distinct local identity they add value to their labor in the context of a larger heterogeneous society.

O'Rourke's 1987 film, *Cannibal Tours*, shows American tourists putting on face paint and posing as "native" warriors as they cruise the Sepik River. Here, body painting symbolizes "native" identity, is marketed on souvenirs, and is used by the tourists, in their own performances, to mock both local people and themselves. Similarly Otto & Verloop (1996) describe the invention of the Asaro masked "mud-men" at an agricultural fair in the 1950s. A few individuals consciously created and continually adapt these legendary impersonations of Highlands New Guinea culture in performances for audiences of government administrators, tourists, tour operators, and other islanders. Today the mudman performance is a source of income for the Asaro but also has led to arguments over the origin and ownership of the body art represented in the tourist performance. Faris (1988, p. 39; 1982) describes the changes in Nuba body art subsequent to his fieldwork in the Sudan in the 1970s (Curling 1982, Faris 1972). In addition to the ravages of war and the pressures of Islam on the Nuba, Faris deplores the denigrating effects that tourism has had on Nuba body decoration, particularly following the publication of Reifentahl's sensational and eroticized photographs (1974, 1976). Starting in the late 1970s, Nuba men began to perform for tourists by painting their bodies with meaningless designs that were calculated to bring in the most money from photographers, rather than with traditional designs that referred to their status in the age grade system and their eligibility for marriage.

Modernity is also a factor in the use of new materials in body decoration in Melanesia. Among the Massim there is an opposition between the dark wrinkled "bad" skin associated with age and death and soft bright "good" skin associated with youth, purity, and life. Myths and rituals involve casting off "bad" skin for "good." Liep describes how Johnson's baby powder has been "appropriated into a symbolic context of colours, smells and tactile qualities employed in a discourse of life and death, youth and old age, success and failure" (1994, p. 70). But whereas baby powder has been incorporated into "tradition," mainly because of its analogy with traditional materials, it has the added attraction for the Massim of partaking in modernity (p. 72). This idea is the inverse of Western neo-tribals or modern primitives using their skin to invoke the values of primitive societies.

Conklin (1997) describes how Amazonian Indians, responding to Westerners' romantic conceptualizations of native peoples, selectively use internationally appealing components of Amazonian body art as "symbolic capital" (Bourdieu



1984) in national and international political arenas. Latching onto movements of contemporary environmental activism, the Wari', Kayapó, Nambiquara, and Awá activists incorporate into their self-representation, and disseminate through modern media, visual images of themselves looking like stereotyped "noble savages" bedecked in face paint and feathers but omit things like ornaments made of bones and canine incisors that might be objectionable to some Western viewers. Conklin (1997) explores the problems and paradoxes involved in these "neo-indigenous" self-representations. Although they have been useful in internationally based campaigns for indigenous and environmental rights, they have not fared as well in national politics where Indians have been accused of engaging in hypocritical political theater. These internationally oriented constructions of indigenous identity have also constricted some Indians' ability to determine their own ways of expressing authenticity (p. 728).

## CONTEMPORARY TATTOO

When Rubin coined the term "tattoo renaissance" (Rubin 1988b, pp. 233–62) he referred to a shift in many aspects of Western tattooing (the nature of the people who created tattoos, involving a shift from tattooists to tattoo artists); a change in clientele (from sailors, bikers, and gang members to the middle and upper class); and a change in iconography (from the badge-like images based on repetitive premade designs known as "flash" to the customized full-body tattoo influenced by Polynesian and Japanese tattoo art). All these aspects of contemporary Western tattooing have received extensive treatment in the social sciences as well as in the vast literature produced by and for the tattoo community itself. DeMello argues that the attention given in recent years to the "tattoo renaissance" creates a misleading impression of historical evolution in the world of Western tattoo. By analyzing the popular discourse disseminated in tattoo magazines, cyberspace, tattoo shops, and conventions, she argues that many different communities exist, and they are often divided against each other (1995a, 2000, pp. 17–44).

Contacts between East and West long predate the "tattoo renaissance" identified by Rubin and others (Blanchard 1991, deMello 2000, Govenar 1984, Rosenblatt 1997). Until the 1960s most Western tattooing remained within a European aesthetic tradition (McCabe 1995, 1997). Within that tradition distinct subcultures can be identified, for example Chicano tattoo, skinheads, bikers, and prison tattoo. In the 1960s, however, a number of tattoo artists, many with fine-arts training, began to seriously study Polynesian graphic design and Japanese tattooing. Rubin describes how specific individuals like Phil Sparrow, Sailor Jerry (Norman Keith) Collins, Cliff Raven, and Don Ed Hardy revolutionized tattooing. Many of them studied with master tattooists from Japan, and they began traveling widely in Oceania, Europe, the Philippines, and Japan.

Although Westerners had long been interested in Pacific tattoos, the commercial and media success of these tattoo artists, and many others, shifted the way in which tattoo was perceived in the wider community (Tucker 1981). Tattooists began to

incorporate into their work images from fine art, graphics from Japanese and Polynesia traditions, and new ways of using color and line. Instead of simply applying small badge-like designs on patches of skin, they began to work with the contours of the body. As more and more middle-class people were tattooed, and as artists with formal art training in other media entered the profession, tattoo gained new respectability. Among this middle-class clientele, custom work increasingly replaced flash, and people began to collect tattoos as works of art. Many women gravitated to these new kinds of tattooing (Atkinson 2002, deMello 1995b, Mifflin 1997). According to accounts in the press at the time, the fact that The American Museum of Natural History did a major exhibition on body art, incorporating into it not only images of non-Western body art but also Western tattooing and piercing, meant that this form of body art had finally reached the "mainstream" (Schildkrout 2004). Other exhibitions followed, for example one at The Victoria and Albert Museum. Mainstream museums and art institutions were now being asked to affirm the status of tattooing as an art form. And, in an *Amicus Curiae* brief submitted to the United States Supreme Court (Schildkrout 2002), I argue that a tattoo artist from South Carolina (one of only two states where tattooing was then banned) should be allowed to work on the basis of the protection of the First Amendment of the United States Constitution. This case hinged on the issue of free speech and the fact that tattooing could be considered a form of visual communication.

Whereas imagery from Japanese tattoo has been appropriated in the West (Hardy 1995b), a number of studies examine the incredibly rich history of tattooing in Japan. McCallum (1988) traces Japanese tattoo history back to 10,000 B.C. and describes the fascinating relationship between tattoo and the underworld in Japan in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In 1982, the photographer Sandi Fellman spent time in Tokyo photographing Japanese tattoo artists and subjects with a large-format Polaroid camera (Fellman 1986). Gilbert has recently published a translation of Kazuo Oguri's description of his apprenticeship as a tattooist. Gilbert (2001, pp. 77–87, and Kitamura & Kitamura 2001) describes the relationship between Japanese tattooing and the samurai tradition. Greenaway's 1996 film, *The Pillow Book*, is also a provocative contribution to the representation of Japanese tattooing. Set in contemporary Japan and Hong Kong, the film is an adaptation of a tenth-century Japanese literary classic, *The Pillow Book*, by a courtesan named Sei Shonagon. It explores the tangled connections between tattooing, writing, sex, homoeroticism, sado-masochism, and death.

## NEW MODERNITIES

Contemporary Western tattooing, although increasingly mainstream in some respects, continues to redefine social boundaries, and in the process redefines itself. An extensive literature describes how various forms of "neo-primitive" body art are used to define emerging social groups and identities. Beginning with Vale & Juno's publication *Modern Primitives* (1989) segments of the New Age, Punk (Wojcik 1995), and modern primitive movement (Cummings 2001) adopted "extreme"

forms of piercing, branding, and tattooing. "Extreme" is, of course, a relative and somewhat slippery term, but it is used in this literature for people who have extensive piercings, brands, and tattoos covering their bodies, and especially parts like the face and hands that cannot be concealed with clothing. This form of body modification is far removed from the kind of tattooing that Rubin described, as art, in his characterization of the tattoo renaissance. But as tattooing becomes more mainstream, those who turn to it to proclaim their outsider status obviously need to push the limits of acceptability.

Thus there is an on-going redefinition of body art in Western cultures (Atkinson 2001, 2003) and a continual discussion, particularly in the sociological literature, of the relationship between body art and deviance. Whereas anthropologists shy away from the concept of deviance because it so often carries embedded value judgments, sociologists tend to focus on it, even as they continually redefine it according to the subjective and objective situation of their subjects. Sanders (1989) approached the institution of tattooing as an aspect of negatively valued consumer culture, whereas Irwin (2001, 2003) describes how tattooing bridges the divide between positive and negative deviance, high and low culture: "Anti-heroes can be said to contribute to changing definitions of deviance, to evoke or confuse informal and formal social control mechanisms, and to dislodge or point to centers of power. . . [They] reinforce and challenge boundaries between social groups and between what is considered acceptable and unacceptable behavior" (2003, p. 54).

Many participants in the neo-primitive movement obviously cultivate "deviant" status, although deviancy is defined differently by different groups. Although obviously not everyone with piercings and tattoos defines themselves as deviant, those who do define themselves in this way make a commitment not only to "get a tattoo" or "get tattooed" but also to adopt a new lifestyle. Atkinson (2003) describes "straight edge tattooists" who associate their body art, especially piercing, with self-control and an abstemious lifestyle. Neo-primitives, bikers, and gang members, as well as prisoners, also cultivate "deviancy" as part of their identity (Bazan et al. 2002, Phillips 2001, Steward 1990). Deviancy is expressed both through the images people select in tattoos, and the degree to which they cover their bodies with tattoos, brands, and piercings.

Many authors are concerned with the personal journeys that individuals take as they redefine themselves through body art. Vail (1999) describes tattooing as a process of collecting, as well as of personal transformation: Tattoos "are like potato chips." Atkinson refers to a "flesh journey": "[T]he process of intentionally reconstructing the corporeal in order to symbolically represent and physically chronicle changes in one's identity, relationships, thoughts, or emotions over time . . ." (2001, p. 118). Once they are part of a community whose identity is expressed through body art, people with a strong commitment to tattoos "socially construct the meanings of their particular styles of radical body modification and account for them using insider vocabularies" (Atkinson 2001, p. 140).

Much of this meaning-making involves notions about the primitive, about idealized non-Western cultures, and about alternative lifestyles inspired by these notions (Torgorvnik 1997). This raises issues of authenticity, cultural appropriation,

copyright, and the relationship between body art, media culture, and consumerism. In their lifestyles and on their bodies, these adherents of radical body alteration implicitly question standard definitions of modernity by using appropriated notions of the primitive, however imaginary, to do so. But focusing specifically on the discourse of Western tattoo, deMello raises the issue of class-based appropriation within the world of tattoo. She decries what she sees as the rewriting of the history of tattoo so that the bikers, sailors, and other members of the "underclass" are denied their rightful place in this history. By inventing a mythical new age and neo-tribal history, by moving from stigma to status (deMello 1995b, p. 49), tattooing has become not only "a means to symbolically undo the conquest of the primitive world" but also a way of denying authenticity to those who can actually claim authorship of tattooing in the West. This history belongs, according to deMello (and see also McCabe 1997), not to the middle class, not to the neo-primitives, not to the high-end tattoo artists, but rather to the bikers, sailors, circus performers, gang members, and prisoners who have been involved with tattoo since at least the nineteenth century and in some cases for centuries before.

## SUMMARY

In my attempt to survey the diverse interdisciplinary literature on corporeal inscription several themes emerge. First, the body, as a canvas, is not only the site where culture is inscribed but also a place where the individual is defined and inserted into the cultural landscape. Tattoos, scars, brands, and piercings, when voluntarily assumed, are ways of writing one's autobiography on the surface of the body. These practices express belonging and exclusion, merge the past and the present, and, for the individual, define what Csordas (1994) has called "a way of being in the world" (p. 10). Second, bodily inscriptions are all about boundaries, a perennial theme in anthropology—between self and society, between groups, and between humans and divinity. Third, in this review I have focused on bodily inscriptions defined in a very real, material way, not as a metaphor as has been the tendency in poststructuralist discourse. But this approach also highlights the fact that the surface of the body has been the site of considerable theoretical interest since the beginning of anthropology. Skin is a surface onto which anthropology and related disciplines have projected their understandings of the relationship between psyche and society, the commonalities and differences between cultures, and even the meaning of art.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people helped with this paper, beginning with my colleagues at The American Museum of Natural History, who worked with me on the exhibition, "Body Art: Marks of Identity." I am especially grateful to Ann Fitzgerald who collaborated on the exhibition and also carefully read a version of this paper. Michael O'Hanlon, Anne d'Alleva, and Victoria Ebin kindly pointed me to sources that

I might have overlooked, and innumerable colleagues including Sarah Adams, Elizabeth Cameron, Amanda Carlson, Herbert Cole, James Faris, Richard Gould, Karen Hansen, Donna Pido, Dale Rosengarten, Andrew Strathern, Pamela Stewart, and Susan Vogel shared their knowledge about various examples of body art. Special thanks go to Michelle Franke, Naomi Goodman, and Roxanne Rivera without whose bibliographical and technical help this article may never have been finished.

The *Annual Review of Anthropology* is online at <http://anthro.annualreviews.org>

## LITERATURE CITED

- Adams M. 1978. Kuba embroidered cloth. *Afr. Arts*. 12(1):24-39
- Adams S. 2002. *Uli Di N'aka N'aka/Uli is from hand to hand: Igbo women's body and wall painting in southeastern Nigeria*. PhD thesis. Yale Univ.
- Ahmed S, Stacey J, ed. 2001. *Thinking Through the Skin*. London/New York: Routledge
- Allen T, Gilbert S. 2001. *The Marquesas*. See Gilbert 2001, pp. 55-66
- Anderson C. 2000. Godna: inscribing Indian convicts in the nineteenth century. See Caplan 2000a, pp. 102-17
- Anzieu D. 1989. *The Skin Ego*. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press
- Atkinson M. 2001. Flesh journeys: neo primitives and the contemporary rediscovery of radical body modification. *Deviant Behav. Interdiscipl. J.* 22:117-46
- Atkinson M. 2002. Pretty in ink: conformity, resistance, and negotiation in women's tattooing. *Sex Roles* 47(5/6):219-35
- Atkinson M. 2003. The civilizing of resistance: straightedge tattooing. *Deviant Behav. Interdiscipl. J.* 24:197-220
- Auslander M. 1993. "Open the wombs!": the symbolic politics of modern Ngoni witchfinding. In *Modernity and Its Malcontents*, ed. J Comaroff, J Comaroff, pp. 167-92. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press
- Balme C, Carstensen A. 2001. Home fires: creating a Pacific theatre in the diaspora. *Theatre Res. Int.* 26(1):35-46
- Barker J, Tietjen AM. 1990. Women's facial tattooing among the Maisin of Oro Province, Papua New Guinea: the changing significance of an ancient custom. *Oceania* 60(3):217-34
- Baudez CF. 2000. The Maya king's body, mirror of the universe. *Anthropol. Aesthet.* 38:134-43
- Bazan LE, Harris L, Lorentzen LA. 2002. Migrant gangs, religion and tattoo removal. *Peace Rev.* 14(4):379-83
- Beckwith C, Fisher A. 1990. *African Ark*. New York: Abrams
- Benson S. 2000. Inscriptions of the self: reflections on tattooing and piercing in contemporary Euro-America. See Caplan 2000a, pp. 234-54
- Berns MC. 1988. Ga'anda scarification: a model for art and identity. See Rubin 1988a, pp. 57-76
- Bianchi RS. 1988. Tattoo in ancient Egypt. See Rubin 1988a, pp. 21-28
- Biddle J. 2001. Inscribing identity: skin as country in the Central Desert. See Ahmed & Stacey 2001, pp. 177-93
- Biddle J. 2003. Country, skin, canvas: the intercorporeal art of Kathleen Petyarre. *Aust. N.Z. J. Art* 4(1):61-76
- Blackburn M. 1999. *Tattoos From Paradise: Traditional Polynesian Patterns*. Atglen, PA: Schiffer
- Blanchard M. 1991. Post-bourgeois tattoo: reflections on skin writing in late capitalist societies. *Vis. Anthropol. Rev.* 7(2):11-21
- Bohannon P. 1988. Beauty and scarification amongst the Tiv. See Rubin 1988a, pp. 77-82
- Boone EH, Mignolo WD, ed. 1994. *Writing Without Words: Alternative Literacies in*

- Mesoamerica and the Andes*. Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press
- Bourdieu P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press
- Bourdieu P. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of Judgement and Taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press
- Braidotti R. 1996. Cyberfeminism with a difference. *New Form.: J. Cult./Theory/Polit.* 29: 9–23. [http://www.let.uu.nl/womens\\_studies/rosi/cyberfem.htm](http://www.let.uu.nl/womens_studies/rosi/cyberfem.htm)
- Brain R. 1979. *The Decorated Body*. New York: Harper and Row
- Brush P. 1998. Metaphors of inscription: discipline, plasticity and the rhetoric of choice. *Fem. Rev.* 58:22–43
- Burton JW. 2001. *Culture and the Human Body: An Anthropological Perspective*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland
- Butler J. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge
- Cameron EL. 1995. *Negotiating Gender: Initiation Arts of "Mwadi" and "Mukanda" Among the Lunda and Luvale, Kabompo District, North-Western Province, Zambia*. PhD thesis. Univ. Calif. Los Angeles
- Caplan J, ed. 2000a. *Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press
- Caplan J. 2000b. 'National tattooing': traditions of tattooing in nineteenth-century Europe. See Caplan 2000a, pp. 156–73
- Cole HM. 1974. Vital arts in northern Kenya. *Afr. Arts* 7(2):12–23, 78
- Cole HM, Aniakor CC. 1984. *Igbo Arts: Community and Cosmos*. Los Angeles: Mus. Nat. Hist., Univ. Calif. Los Angeles
- Conklin BA. 1997. Body paint, feathers and VCRs: aesthetics and authenticity in Amazonian activism. *Am. Ethnol.* 24(4):711–37
- Coombes AE. 1994. *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press
- Csordas TJ, ed. 1994. *Embodiment and Experience: The Existential Ground of Culture and Self*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press
- Cummings W. 2001. Modern primitivism: the recent history of civilization's discontents. In *Nature and Its Discontents from Virgin Land to Disney World: Reinterpretations of Freud's Civilization Thesis in the America(s) of Yesterday and Today*, ed. B Herzogenrath, pp. 115–33. Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi
- Cummings W. 2003. Orientalism's corporeal dimensions. *J. Colon. Colon. Hist.* 4(2). [http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal\\_of\\_colonialism\\_and\\_colonial\\_history/toc/cch4.2.htm](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_colonialism_and_colonial_history/toc/cch4.2.htm)
- Curling C. 1982. *The South Eastern Nuba*. Film. BBC
- DeMello M. 1995a. The carnivalesque body: women and tattoos. See Hardy 1995a, pp. 73–79
- DeMello M. 1995b. 'Not just for bikers anymore': popular representations of American tattooing. *J. Popul. Cult.* 29(3):37–52
- DeMello M. 2000. *Bodies of Inscription: A Cultural History of the Modern Tattoo Community*. Durham/London: Duke Univ. Press
- Derrida J. 1976. *Of Grammatology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press
- Derrida J. 1978. *Writing and Difference*. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press
- Derrida J. 1990. *Limited Inc*. Transl. S Weber, J Mehlman. Evanston, IL: Northwestern Univ. Press
- Douglas M. 1966. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. New York: Praeger
- Drewal HJ. 1988. Beauty and being: aesthetics and ontology in Yoruba body art. See Rubin 1988a, pp. 83–96
- Drewal HJ. 1997. Art or accident: Yoruba body artists and their deity Ogun. In *Africa's Ogun: Old World and New*, ed. S Barnes, pp. 235–60. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press
- Dye I. 1989. The tattoos of early American seafarers. *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.* 133:520–54
- Ebin V. 1979. *The Body Decorated*. London: Thames and Hudson
- Edwards E, ed. 1992. *Anthropology and Photography, 1860–1920*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press
- Faris JC. 1972. *Nuba Personal Art*. Toronto: Univ. Toronto Press

- Faris J. 1988. Significance of difference in the male and female personal art of the Southeast Nuba. See Rubin 1988a, pp. 29–40
- Feher M, Nadaff R, Tazi N, eds. 1989. *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*. New York: Urzone. 3 vols.
- Fellman S. 1986. *The Japanese Tattoo*. New York: Abbeville
- Fleming J. 2000. The renaissance tattoo. See Caplan 2000a, pp. 61–82
- Fleming J. 2001. *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England*. Philadelphia: Univ. Penn. Press
- Gathercole P. 1988. Contexts of Maori moko. See Rubin 1988a, pp. 171–77
- Geary CM, Webb VL, eds. 1998. *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Inst.
- Gell A. 1993. *Wrapping in Images: Tattooing in Polynesia*. Oxford: Clarendon, Oxford Univ
- Gell A. 1998. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon
- Gengenbach H. 2003. Boundaries of beauty: tattooed secrets of women's history in Magude District, Southern Mozambique. *J. Women Hist.* 14(4):106–41
- Gilbert S. 2001. *Tattoo History: A Source Book*. New York: Juno Books
- Goldman I. 1970. *Ancient Polynesian Society*. Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press
- Gould RA. 1990. *Recovering the Past*. Albuquerque: Univ. N. M. Press
- Govenar A. 1984. *Issues in the documentation of tattooing in the Western world*. PhD thesis. Univ. Tex., Dallas
- Govenar A. 1988. The variable context of Chicano tattooing. See Rubin 1988a, pp. 209–18
- Greenaway P. 1996. *The Pillow Book*. Film
- Gritton J. 1988. Labrets and tattooing in Native Alaska. See Rubin 1988a, pp. 181–90
- Gröning K. 1998. *Body Decoration: A World Survey of Body Art*. New York: Vendome Press
- Grosz E. 1994. *Volatile Bodies, Toward a Corporeal Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press
- Guest H. 2000. Curiously marked: tattooing and gender difference in eighteenth-century British perceptions of the South Pacific. See Caplan 2000a, pp. 83–101
- Gustafson M. 2000. The tattoo in the later Roman Empire and beyond. See Caplan 2000a, pp. 17–31
- Handy W. 1922. *Tattooing in the Marquesas*. Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Mus.
- Hardy DE, ed. 1995a. *Pierced Hearts and True Love: A Century of Drawings for Tattoos*. New York/Honolulu: Drawing Cent./Hardy Marks
- Hardy DE. 1995b. Japanese tattooing: legacy and essence. See Hardy 1995a, pp. 58–71
- Harrison S. 1993. *The Mask of War: Violence, Ritual and the Self in Melanesia*. New York: Manchester Univ. Press
- Hassan SM. 1998. Henna mania: body painting as a fashion statement, from tradition to Madonna. In *The Art of African Fashion*, ed. E van der Plas, M Willemsen, pp. 103–28.: Africa World Press
- Hulton P. 1984. *America 1585: The Complete Drawings of John White*. Chapel Hill, NC: Univ. N. C. Press
- Irwin K. 2001. Legitimizing the first tattoo: moral passage through informal interaction. *Symb. Interact.* 24(1):49–73
- Irwin K. 2003. Saints and sinners: elite tattoo collectors and tattooists as positive and negative deviants. *Sociol. Spectrum* 23:27–57
- Jeffreys S. 2000. 'Body art' and social status: cutting, tattooing and piercing from a feminist perspective. *Fem. Psychol.* 10(4):409–29
- Jonaitis A. 1988. Women, marriage, mouths and feasting: the symbolism of Tlingit labrets. See Rubin 1988a, pp. 191–205
- Jonaitis A, ed. 1995. *A Wealth of Thought: Franz Boas on Native American Art*. Seattle, WA: Univ. Wash. Press
- Jones CP. 2000. Stigma and tattoo. See Caplan 2000a, pp. 1–16
- Kaepler AL. 1988. Hawaiian tattoo: a conjunction of genealogy and aesthetics. See Rubin 1988a, pp. 157–70
- Kaepler AL. 2004. Tattooed beauty: A Pacific case study. In *Anthropology Explored*, ed. RO

- Selig, MR London, PA Kaupp. Washington DC: Smithsonian Books. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.
- Kitamura T, Kitamura KM. 2001. *Bushido: Legacies of the Japanese Tattoo*. Atglen, PA: Schiffer
- Knauft BM. 1989. Bodily images in Melanesia: cultural substances and natural metaphors. See Feher et al. 1989, pp. 198–279
- Knauft BM. 1999. *From Primitive to Post Colonial in Melanesia and Anthropology*. Ann Arbor: Univ. Mich. Press
- Knauft BM. 2002. *Exchanging the Past: A Rainforest World of Before and After*. Chicago/London: Univ. Chicago Press
- Kristeva J. 1982. *Powers of Horror*. Transl. Leon Roudiez. New York: Columbia Univ. Press
- Kristeva J. 1995. *New Maladies of the Soul*. Transl. Ross Guberman. New York: Columbia Univ. Press
- Krutak L. 2004a. *Tattoos of the Arctic*. <http://www.vanishingtattoo.com/arctic.tattoos.htm>
- Krutak L. 2004b. *Piercing and Penetration: Body Arts of the Unangan, Alutiiq, and Chugach of Alaska*. [http://www.vanishingtattoo.com/arctic\\_piercing.htm](http://www.vanishingtattoo.com/arctic_piercing.htm)
- Lévi-Strauss C. 1963. *Structural Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books
- Liep J. 1994. Recontextualization of a consumer good: the ritual use of Johnson's baby powder in Melanesia. In *European Imagery and Colonial History in the Pacific*, ed. T Van Meijl, P van der Grijp. pp. 64–75. Saarbrücken, Germany: Entwicklungspolitik Breitenbach GmbH
- Lutz CA, Collins JL. 1993. *Reading National Geographic*. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press
- Lyon ML, Barbalet JM. 1994. Society's body: emotion and the "somatization" of social theory. See Csordas 1994, pp. 48–66
- MacQuarrie CW. 2000. Insular Celtic tattooing: history, myth and metaphor. See Caplan 2000a, pp. 32–45
- Mallory JP, Mair VH. 2000. *The Tarim Mummies: Ancient China and the Mystery of the Earliest Peoples from the West*. London: Thames & Hudson
- Mascia-Lees FE, Sharpe P, eds. 1992. *Tattoo, Torture, Mutilation, and Adornment: The De-naturalization of the Body in Culture and Text*. Albany: State Univ. N. Y. Press
- Maxwell-Stewart H, Duffield I. 2000. Skin deep devotions: religious tattoos and convict transportation to Australia. See Caplan 2000a, pp. 118–35
- McCabe M. 1995. Coney Island tattoo: the growth of inclusive culture in the age of the machine. See Hardy 1995a, pp. 49–55
- McCabe M. 1997. *New York City Tattoo: The Oral History of an Urban Art*. Honolulu: Hardy Marks
- McCabe M. 2003. *Tattoos of Indochina: Magic, Devotion and Protection*. Atolen, PA: Schiffer
- McCallum D. 1988. Historical and cultural dimensions of the tattoo in Japan. See Rubin 1988a, pp. 109–34
- Mifflin M. 1997. *Bodies of Subversion: A Secret History of Women and Tattoo*. New York: Juno Books
- Munn ND. 1986 1973. *Walbiri Iconography: Graphic Representation and Cultural Symbolism in a Central Australian Society*. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press
- Myers FR. 2002. *Painting Culture. The Making of an Aboriginal High Art*. Durham/London: Duke Univ. Press
- Nevadomsky J, Aisien E. 1995. The clothing of political identity: costume and scarification in the Benin Kingdom. *Afr. Arts* 28(1):62–73, 100
- Oettermann S. 2000. On display: tattooed entertainers in America and Germany. See Caplan 2000a, pp. 193–211
- O'Hanlon M. 1989. *Reading the Skin: Adornment, Display and Society Among the Wahgi*. London: British Mus.
- O'Hanlon M. 1992. Unstable images and second skins: artifacts, exegesis and assessments in the New Guinea Highlands. *MAN* 27(3):587–608
- O'Rourke D. 1987. *Cannibal Tours*. Film. Direct Cinema
- Ottenberg S. 2002. Sources and themes in the art of Obiora Udechukwu. *Afr. Arts* 35(2):30–45



- Otto T, Verloop RJ. 1996. The Asaro mudmen: local property, public culture? *Contemp. Pac.* 8(2):349–86
- Phillip SA. 2001. Gallo's body: decoration and damnation in the life of a Chicano gang member. *Ethnography* 2(3):357–88
- Polosmak N. 1994. A mummy unearthed from the pastures of heaven. *Natl. Geogr.* 186(4): 80–103
- Pritchard S. 2000. Essence, identity, signature: tattoos and cultural property. *Soc. Semiot.* 10(3):331–46
- Pritchard S. 2001. An essential marking: Maori tattooing and the properties of identity. *Theor. Cult. Soc.* 18(4):27–45
- Prosser J. 2001. Skin memories. See Ahmed & Stacey 2001, pp. 52–68
- Rainier C. 1996. *Where Masks Still Dance: New Guinea*. New York: Little, Brown & Company
- Reed CE. 2000. Tattoo in early China. *J. Am. Orient. Soc.* 120(3):360–77
- Reifenstahl L. 1974. *Last of the Nuba*. New York: Harper Collins
- Reifenstahl L. 1976. *The People of Kau*. New York: Harper Collins
- Roberts AF. 1988. Tabwa tegumentary inscription. See Rubin 1988a, pp. 41–56
- Roberts MN, Roberts AF, eds. 1996. *Memory: Luba Art & the Making of History* (catalog and exhibition). New York: Mus. Afr. Arts
- Robley MG. 1896. *Moko; or Maori Tattooing*. London, UK: Chapman & Hall
- Rosecrans JA. 2000. Wearing the universe: symbolic markings in early modern England. See Caplan 2000a, pp. 46–60
- Rosenblatt D. 1997. The antisocial skin: structure, resistance and "modern primitive" adornment in the United States. *Cult. Anthropol.* 12(3):287–334
- Rubin A, ed. 1988a. *Marks of Civilization: Artistic Transformations of the Human Body*. Los Angeles: Mus. Cult. Hist., Univ. Calif. Los Angeles
- Rubin A. 1988b. Tattoo trends in Gujarat. See Rubin 1988a, pp. 141–53
- Rudenko SI. 1970. *Frozen Tombs of Siberia: The Pazyryk Burials of Iron Age Horsemen*, pp. 110–114. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
- Rydell RW. 1984. *All the World's A Fair*. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press
- Rydell RW. 1993. *World of Fairs—The Century of Progress Expositions*. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press
- Sanders CR. 1989. *Customizing the Body: The Art and Culture of Tattooing*. Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press
- Schildkrout E. 2004. Body art as visual language. In *Anthropology Explored*, ed. RO Selig, MR London, PA Kaupp. Washington DC: Smithsonian Books. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.
- Schildkrout E. 2002. *In the Supreme Court of the United States, Ronald P. White, Petitioner v. State of South Carolina, Respondent. On Petition for Writ of Certiorari to the Supreme Court of South Carolina. Brief Amicus Curiae of Enid Schildkrout No. 01–1859*. New York: Counsel Press
- Schildkrout E, Keim CA, eds. 1990. *African Reflections: Art from Northeastern Zaire*. Seattle/London: Univ. Wash. Press and New York: American Museum of Natural History
- Schrader AM. 2000. Branding the other/tattooing the self: bodily inscription among convicts in Russia and the Soviet Union. See Caplan 2000a, pp. 174–92
- Simmons D. 1989. *Maori Tattoo*. Auckland, New Zealand: Bush Press
- Spindler K. 1994. *The Man in the Ice: The Discovery of a 5,000-year-old Body Reveals the Secrets of the Stone Age*. New York: Harmony Books
- Steward SM. 1990. *Bad Boys and Tough Tattoos: A Social History of the Tattoo with Gangs, Sailors, and Street-Corner Punks, 1950–1965*. Binghamton, NY/London: Harrington Park/Haworth
- Stoler A. 1995. *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*. Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press
- Strathern A. 1977. Why is shame on the skin? In *The Anthropology of the Body*, ed. J Blacking, pp. 99–110. London/New York: Academic

- Strathern M. 1979. The self in self-decoration. *Oceania* 49:241-57
- Strathern M, Strathern A. 1971. *Self-Decoration in Mount Hagen*. London: Gerald Duckworth
- Tannenbaum N. 1987. Tattoos: invulnerability and power in Shan cosmology. *Am. Ethnol.* 14(4):693-711
- Taylor MC. 1995. Skinscapes. See Hardy 1995a, pp. 29-45
- Teilhet-Fisk J. 1988. The spiritual significance of Newar tattoos. See Rubin 1988a, pp. 135-39
- Thomas N. 2002. *Skin Deep: A History of Tattooing*. Greenwich, UK: Natl. Maritime Mus.
- Thompson RF, Bahuchet S. eds. 1991. *Pygmees?: Peintures sur Ecorce Battue des Mbuti (Haut-Zaire)*. Paris: Musee Dapper
- Timmer J. 2001. Huli wigmen engage tourists: self-adornment and ethnicity in the Papua New Guinea Highlands. *Pac. Tourism Rev.* 4: 121-35
- Torgovnick M. 1997. *Primitive Passions: Men, Women, and the Quest for Ecstasy*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf
- Tucker M. 1981. Tattoo: the state of the art. *Artforum* 19(9):42-47
- Turner TS. 1980. The social skin. In *Not Work Alone: A Cross-Cultural View of Activities Superfluous to Survival*, ed. J Cherfas, R Lewin, pp. 112-40. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage
- Turner T. 1994. Bodies and anti-bodies: flesh and fetish in contemporary social theory. See Csordas 1994, pp. 27-47
- Turner T. 1995. Social body and embodied subject: bodiliness, subjectivity, and sociality among the Kayapo. *Cult. Anthropol.* 10(2):143-53
- Vail DA. 1999. Tattoos are like potato chips. . . you can't have just one: the process of becoming and being a collector. *Deviant Behav. Interdiscipl. J.* 20:253-73
- Vale V, Junu A, ed. 1989. *Modern Primitives*. San Francisco: Research
- Van Gennep A. 1909. *Les Rites de Passage*. Paris: É. Nourry
- Vidal G, Verswijver G. 1992. Body painting among the Kaiapo: the concept of person and self. See Verswijver 1992, pp. 37-63
- Verswijver G, ed. 1992. *Kaiapo, Amazonia: The Art of Body Decoration*. Tervuren, Gent: R. Mus. Centr. Afr.
- Vogel S. 1988. Baule scarification: the mark of civilization. See Rubin 1988a, pp. 97-105
- Von Den Steinen K. 1928. *Die Marquesaner und ihre Kunst*. Berlin, Germany: Dietrichreimer
- Von Langsdorff GH. 1813-14. *Voyages and travels in various parts of the world, during the years 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, and 1807*. London: H. Colburn
- Willis L. 1989. Uli painting and the Igbo world view. *Afr. Arts* 23(1):62-69
- Windley LA, ed. 1983. *Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790*, Vol. 3. Westport, CT: Greenwood
- Wojcik D. 1995. *Punk and Neo-Tribal Body Art*. Jackson: Univ. Press Miss.
- Zimmerman K. 1980. Tatowierte Throakerinnen auf griechischen vasenbildern. *Jahrbuch des Deutsches Archaeologische Instituts* 95:163-96

Copyright of *Annual Review of Anthropology* is the property of Annual Reviews Inc. and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.